A few of the old people receive money from the government. The majority of the money in the camp, however, is earned by piling brush around Seneca for the lumber company. This type of work is popular with the people because they can camp in the woods, are not constantly supervised, and the whole family can work together. The women do most of the work, since it is thought to be in the category of collecting seeds and roots. Some of the more enterprising men have jobs on ranches and others are in demand in the haying and sheep-shearing seasons. In general, however, the men cannot stick at a ranch job all year round. The younger women earn much of the steady income by washing, ironing, and cleaning for the white women in the town of Burns. Thus although the economy has changed, the women are still important breadwinners.

In general the standard of living is very low and the poverty is such that much of the food is still collected out of the garbage cans behind the big chain stores. A relatively large amount of money disappears over the weekends for liquor. The entire camp between the ages of about fifteen and seventy, with a few exceptions, drink whatever alcohol they can get. Most of the houses are over-crowded, dirty, and sparsely furnished. There are usually not more than two beds for the entire family, a stove, a few straight chairs, and a table.

Although an attempt has been made to better the health conditions, most of the families have trachoma. There are several bad cases of tuberculosis and many cases of syphilis and gonorrhea. Infant mortality is still high and until very recently many young children have died from malnutrition. However, in comparison with the period from 1880 to 1910, conditions are improved.

Opportunities for education are limited to the extremely poor local school. Formerly some of the children were admitted to the Warm Springs and Fort Bidwell boarding schools where they received a fair education, but now these schools are overcrowded and cannot take outsiders.

The contrast between the present life of the people and their former life seems extreme. Actually, interpersonal relations and religious beliefs are little changed; the composition of the household groups is similar to that of the old days. Christianity has not affected them and speculation as to who has good or bad supernatural power is still one of the main topics of conversation. The people still wander over the country, particularly during the summer. When they work for the brush company they live a life not too unlike their former one. Some women still collect wild seeds, roots, and berries as well as leavings from the garbage pails. Women still carry a large part of the economic burden. The younger people, in their teens and early twenties, who speak English, are, however, beginning to reflect the change. Many of them have attempted to get away or else have become delinquents. The young girls can easily slip into prostitution and several of the boys have been convicted of theft and other minor offenses and sent to reformatories.

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
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joy." Dick explained that this would be a sign that he was nervous and that his body was getting mad so that when the enemy came his power would really work.

Dick's father and uncle had both had power in bullets and Dick stated that probably that was why the eagle came to him. Dick as a boy was noted for his devil-may-care recklessness and his lack of fear, particularly in training wild horses. He used to tie himself to wild horses and "ride them out." Actually his blindness was brought on by a very bad case of trachoma. Dick's mother was blind and his daughter is blind.

It is interesting to note here that Dick Jonas had had a previous experience with doctors but, as far as he could remember, no mention had been made of power at that time. As a boy at Fort Harney he was bucked off a wild horse which fell on top of him. Dr. Howard was summoned to restore him to consciousness. According to Dick's dim recollections, Dr. Howard said that his breath had left his body and gone up the Milky Way. He chased the breath and restored it to Dick's body. Dick could not remember any explanation given for the loss of his breath other than the accident.

Later, when Dick Jonas was an elderly man, he was doctored twice by Charlie Damin. Neither time was his power mentioned. The first illness came on suddenly as Dick was returning from town one day. He got hot and weak and felt sick, and by the time he reached home he was delirious and did not know what he was doing. Dr. Charlie was summoned and said that Dick Jonas' dead wife had met him and had tried to get his breath. Charlie told the people that he was just in time because the breath had started to come out the top of Dick's head but by sucking it he could keep the rest from leaving. By singing power songs, mostly about ghosts, he brought back the rest of the breath and restored it to Dick's body. On the second occasion Dick's deceased wife came at night and shouted in his ear and tried again to steal his breath. Although Charlie saved Dick's life, he has been deaf in one ear since this encounter with a ghost.

The explanation given in this last instance for Dick Jonas' deafness is in sharp contrast to the early diagnosis of his blindness. Both were major afflictions, but one came when Dick was a young man in his twenties while the other did not occur until he was past sixty.

Fred, the brother of Helen, had tuberculosis of the hip and was blind when I met him in 1936. When he showed the first symptoms of tuberculosis Dr. Harry worked on him. It is not clear whether it was an already established fact that Fred had power in bullets which he had received from his father—or had received by having the same dreams as his father—but Dr. Harry told him at this time that he was ill because he had lost the little bullet which his power had told him to carry at all times. Dr. Harry made him a new one and Fred recovered. Later, when he went on a trip to Fort Bidwell, he hid this bullet in some rocks on the road south of Burns. While he was gone, the town blasted the rocks in order to build a swim-

Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home she seemed very kind to them.

All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it. According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't let me marry anyone."

Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself, that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad power.

Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp. Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circulated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person.

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonorrhea. The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca. In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event. However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women. Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Cause of Disease

The Paviotso attribute disease to supernatural agencies. Minor ailments, however, are recognized and cured by "home remedies." The knowledge of these treatments is even today widespread and is by no means restricted to the professional equipment of the shaman. Therefore, only illness which results from supernatural causes and which requires the exercise of the shaman's power to bring about recovery will be considered here. Many informants made a strong contrast between sickness today and formerly. It is said that before the whites came, the diseases of the present time were not known; that the Indians suffered only from aches and pains which were caused by sorcery, by dreams, or other supernatural causes.

Two concepts of the cause of disease widespread in the primitive world are current among the Paviotso. It is believed that sickness results from the intrusion of a pathogenic tangible object, or again, an individual may die as a result of the loss of his soul.[11] Shamans may also suffer from the breach of tabu, that is, as the result of breaking any of the restrictions which are placed upon them by their powers. Yet these three categories of the causes of disease are somewhat artificial, as the Paviotso do not clearly distinguish among them. According to their notions, sickness results from a dream, and in such cases a shaman may at one time suck out an intrusive object to bring about a cure, whereas on another occasion it may be necessary to return the lost soul of the patient. Again from the point of view of the Paviotso, sorcerers can cause sickness; but here too, both soul loss and intrusive objects are involved. Therefore, it would seem from the point of view of native belief that a more realistic classification of the causes of disease would take into consideration sickness caused by such agents as

[11] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294-295, observes that shamans return the lost soul of patients. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, Table I, 194, implies the absence of this belief among the Paviotso. His reference to "disease object intrusion" in Lowie's account (292) applies specifically to the Ute at Ignacio and Navaho Springs, not, as is cited, to the Paviotso. Clements's citation for the concept of soul loss among the Ute on the basis of Lowie's statement on p. 294 is likewise erroneous, as Lowie mentions this belief only for the Paviotso. It seems that in using Lowie's material to determine the distribution of disease concepts in the Great Basin, Clements inferred that if a belief is recorded for the Ute it must exist among the Paviotso and vice versa.

Wadátkuht

that she should not cry.

From Kitty's description of her ceremony it would seem that she was better oriented and more prepared psychologically for it than was Gladys. Kitty's moon-run lasted for a month while Gladys' lasted but ten days. Kitty was scrubbed with sagebrush at the end of the ceremony, but Gladys was scrubbed with wormwood. The use of wormwood seemingly is a Maidu trait and was probably due to the influence of Big Rosie, a Maidu, as she and Helen Joaquin were the "bosses" of Gladys' moon-run. Kitty always carried a stick to scratch herself with during the month of her puberty ceremony. She thought the stick was called nuh'zuh'wo'ina, "scratcher". It was not mentioned whether Gladys, too, used such a stick during the time of her ceremony.

When a girl terminated her puberty ceremony she was eligible to have her ears pierced. The ceremony for piercing ears was not like the moon-run as there was no running, only dancing and a "bigtime" in the evening.

When a girl got her ears pierced she ate alone, and was isolated. At night she danced and other people usually joined in. If they did not join in, the girl danced alone. One girl's moon-run lasted for three weeks and at her second menses had her ears pierced in a ceremony which lasted for a week.

Infant Mortality. Life for a baby or small child in camp held many dangers as illustrated by two incidents. Willie Joaquin, Kitty's little brother, died when he was quite small because he gulped hot acorn mush and burned himself so severly that he died from the effects. Gladys' brother Fred lost his life when he fell into the camp fire and was badly burned. He was about three years old when this occurred.

Introduced Diseases. Kitty's grandmother told her that when the white people came they brought sickness with them and many Indian people died because of it. Before the white people came there were no old people, everyone was young and there was little sickness. The name for small pox was tasi'yub^{A}, meaning "pitted".

Remedies. A number of plants were used for their medicinal properties but it was not always possible to make botanical collections of them; therefore the identifications are not complete.